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LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PAPER NO. 7

The West Prince Industrial Commission: A Case Study

by

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with the assistance of
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RÉSUMÉ

La région de West Prince, dans l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, souffre de façon chronique de diffifultés économiques et sociales : flux ininterrompu d'émigration, chômage et sous-emploi endémiques, niveaux de revenu et de scolarité relativement faibles, infrastructure insuffisante, et inaptitude à mettre ses ressources en valeur, à encourager l'industrie secondaire et à atteindre ainsi son plein développement. Confrontée à ces énormes défis, la province a établi en 1977 la Commission industrielle de West Prince, dans le but d'accroître l'activité économique de la région. Dans la présente étude de cas, nous examinons le rôle qu'a joué cette Commission industrielle en tant qu'agence de développement économique communautaire, et en particulier sa raison d'être, son efficience, son efficacité et ses réalisations. Les initiatives de la Commission prêtent également à une comparaison avec celles des autres commissions industrielles qui existent dans l'Île. Celle de West Prince ayant été l'une des plus dynamiques, une étude de ses activités devrait nous aider à mieux comprendre les moyens que peuvent prendre de telles commissions pour contribuer au développement économique communautaire.

Durant ses cinq premières années d'existence, la Commission industrielle de West Prince a réalisé relativement peu de choses. Mais grâce au Programme fédéral de développement industriel et régional, créé en 1981 par le ministère de l'Expansion industrielle régionale, des fonds ont été mis à la disposition des commissions industrielles locales pour embaucher du personnel et couvrir les frais de fonctionnement. Dès lors, la Commission industrielle de West Prince a cru bon de s'assurer les services d'un directeur à la fois hautement qualifié et expérimenté pour mettre en oeuvre et diriger sa stratégie de développement, laquelle n'avait pratiquement consisté jusque-là qu'en une liste de "voeux pieux" inspirés de classifications industrielles types.

Richard Ozon, le nouveau directeur, était un homme énergique qui avait, par surcroît, acquis une certaine expérience dans la gestion d'entreprises. Sous son habile direction, une foule de projets ont pris forme, notamment, l'amélioration de l'inventaire d'habitations, l'achat d'un mail commercial, d'un centre de loisirs et d'un restaurant, et l'établissement d'une entreprise de biotechnologie utilisant des méthodes avancées de culture de tissus pour obtenir des plantes capables de résister aux maladies. En plus des emplois qui ont ainsi été créés, ces initiatives ont contribué à redonner aux habitants de la localité un sentiment de fierté collective et de confiance en eux-mêmes.

Il serait difficile d'affirmer avec certitude, cependant, que la Commission a apporté une contribution positive à la solution des problèmes à long terme de la région. Récemment, par suite du départ d'Ozon et ultérieurement, d'un autre membre de la direction, l'avenir de la Commission a semblé s'assombrir.

Actuellement, l'incertitude est d'autant plus grande que le financement fédéral doit prendre fin en 1990 et que la fermeture, cette année, d'une base militaire dans la ville voisine de Summerside ne manquera sûrement pas de relever le taux de chômage dans la région. Il faudrait des recherches plus poussées pour pouvoir déterminer si les succès de la Commission, au début des années 80, ont été le résultat de méthodes systématiques de développement communautaire, ou simplement le fruit d'un heureux concours de circonstances, par exemple, le fait que la bonne personne se soit trouvée au bon endroit au bon moment. Dans une perspective plus vaste, l'expérience de West Prince semble indiquer en outre que l'utilité de commissions industrielles, comme mécanismes de développement communautaire et régional, est un sujet qui mérite d'être étudié plus à fond.

ABSTRACT

The West Prince Region Prince Edward Island has long been characterized by chronic economic and social problems, including out-migration, unemployment and underemployment, relatively low levels of income and education, an inadequate infrastructure, and failure to fully develop and utilize its resource base and to promote secondary industry. Faced with these formidable challenges, the province established the West Prince Industrial Commission in 1977 to increase the Region's economic development agency, with particular emphasis on its rationale, efficiency, effectiveness, and impact to date. The West Prince Commission can also be examined in comparison to the efforts of similar commissions across the Island. Since West Prince was one of the most active commissions, a study of its activities can perhaps lead to a broader understanding of the ways in which such commissions can help to achieve community economic development.

During its first five years of existence, the West Prince Commission achieved relatively little. But with the advent of the Federal Industrial and Regional Developmemt Program under the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion in 1981, funding was made available to area industrial commissions to hire staff and cover operating expenses. At this point, the West Prince Industrial Commission decided to attract a highly-qualified and experienced Executive Manager to assist and direct the implementation of its development strategy, which had previously amounted to little more than a "wish list" based on standard industrial classifications.

This new manager, Richard Ozon, was an energetic individual with previous experience in business management. Under his leadership, a wide range of projects was initiated; these included improvements to the housing stock, the purchase of a shopping mall, the purchase of a recreational facility and a restaurant, and the establishment of a biotechnology company which uses advanced tissue culture techniques to develop disease-free plants. These ventures created some employment and helped create a new sense of confidence and pride in the Region, as well.

It remains problematic, however, whether the Commission has had any appreciable long-term impact on the Region's problems. Recently, with the departure of Ozon and another, later change in management, the Commission's future has become clouded. Adding to the uncertainty are the scheduled termination of federal funding in 1990 and the additional unemployment almost certain to result from this year's closing of the Canadian Forces base in nearby Summerside. Further investigation is needed to determine whether the Commission's successes in the early 1980's were the result of systematic community-oriented development practices or merely a fortunate happenstance... the result of the right person's being

in the right place at the right time. The West Prince experience also suggests that the larger issue of the suitability of industrial commissions as mechanisms for promoting community and regional development bears further examination.

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FOREWORD

The purpose of the Economic Council's project on Directions for Regional Development was to look at situations in which local communities had assumed more responsibility for their own development, and to see what lessons could be learned from these experiences. Fourteen case studies were undertaken, while a number of Issue Papers examined subjects of general concern to communities and development practitioners. The research was deliberately designed to be different from work typically undertaken by the Council in the past. The primary task was to collect instructive evidence, and to verify it where possible by drawing upon existing evaluation studies. The authors were not expected, for example, to undertake the extensive data collection needed to do cost-benefit studies. Rather, they were asked to capture the diversity of the local development experience in Canada.

The results of the research are being reported in a special collection of Local Development Papers. The first seven releases in the collection are listed at the end of this document. Further papers addressing the problems of single industry towns, urban cores, development indicators and other cases and aspects of local development will be released over the next few months and an overview of the findings from these cases and Issue Papers will be presented in a paper entitled Developing Communities: The Local Development Experience in Canada.

A subsequent phase of the project will analyse the context within which local development initiatives take place and evaluate their actual and potential impact on reducing regional disparities.

This Paper presents one of the 14 case studies produced by the Directions for Regional Development project under the direction of Dal Brodhead. Geographically, these studies span almost the entire country, from Nanaimo, British Columbia, to St. Anthony's, Newfoundland. The range of initiatives described is almost equally broad; it goes all the way from the establishment of a small credit union designed to provide basic financial services to the residents of a single community to a comprehensive long-term area development initiative involving all three levels of government and designed to achieve a wide variety of socioeconomic objectives over a ten-year period. A unique feature of the project was its regional orientation through the use of three regional consultants who played a major role in the development of the case studies and the consultation process. Equally important were the numerous joint research ventures undertaken with a wide range of regionally based partners.

Our work in the first part of the project suggests that programs sensitive to the needs of individual communities, and based on some type of partnership between government and local groups, may make a contribution to economic development in Canada's diverse

regions. In particular, our research suggests that communities have an important role to play in identifying development priorities and the particular skills requirements of individuals and local businesses. They also indicate that such "bottom-up" strategies can be assisted by a Local Development Organization (LDO), whose mandate is sufficiently broad and constituency base sufficiently large to enable it to take a long-term development perspective. An important feature of "bottom-up" community development strategies is their focus on community capacity-building aimed at increasing local self-reliance and innovation.

The cases on which we have chosen to focus illustrate a number of the ways in which Canada's communities have mobilized their available human, financial, and material resources to help assure a future for themselves. We believe that these cases will be of value both to community and regional development practitioners and to regional policy-makers at all levels of government.

Wayne McKinnon, the principal author of this study, is a Charlottetown stockbroker with a background in economics and regional development. Jon Peirce is a researcher-writer-editor with the Economic Council of Canada's Regional Development group. The original research on which this study is based was conducted by Kevin Moynihan, a staff member with the PEI Development Agency, who also wrote an earlier draft.

Judith Maxwell
Chairman

INTRODUCTION

The West Prince Region of Prince Edward Island is characterized by chronic economic and social problems, including out-migration, unemployment and underemployment, relatively low levels of income and education, an inadequate infrastructure, and failure to fully develop and utilize its resource base and to promote secondary industry. Faced with these formidable challenges, the province established the West Prince Industrial Commission in 1977 to increase the Region's economic activity. The following case study examines the role of the West Prince Industrial Commission as a community economic development agency, with particular emphasis on its rationale, efficiency, effectiveness, and impact to date.

The West Prince Industrial Commission seemed an appropriate subject for a case study for a number of reasons. First, the West Prince Region is somewhat removed from the mainstream of economic activity on the Island; thus its economic and social problems are to a degree distinctive. The Region has also been the focus of a number of development initiatives common to those undertaken throughout the province under the aegis of such mechanisms as the 15-year Comprehensive Development Plan. The West Prince Industrial Commission can be examined in the context of such mechanisms and in comparison to the efforts of similar commissions across the Island. Since West Prince was one of the most active commissions, a study of its activities can perhaps lead to a

broader understanding of the ways in which such commissions can help to achieve community economic development.

This case study of the West Prince Industrial Commission is an effort to analyze its activities and impacts from its inception in late 1977 through March 31, 1988. The study was conducted over a three-month period beginning in April, 1988, and was based on interviews with key participants, local residents, and representatives of the federal and provincial governments, as well as others familiar with the field of regional economic development. In addition to these interviews -- upwards of 20 in all -- statistical data on the region were collected and analyzed. As well, the case study has utilized a number of previous studies carried out on both the West Prince Region and the Industrial Commission itself, and a certain amount of more recent information about the Commission's activities over the past year.

Attempts to measure the impacts of the Commission's activities raise a number of methodological problems. First, many of the relevant data are unavailable on a sub-provincial basis. Second, it is difficult to distinguish between those impacts which accrue directly to the Commission and those resulting from other efforts and initiatives undertaken in the region. And even if one confined oneself to impact which clearly resulted from the Commission's activities, it is difficult to determine which ones resulted from the Commission's strategic objectives and goals and

which were simply its response to shifts in policy and circumstances over which it may have had no or little control. Finally, as in the case of most local initiatives, generalizations about the role and efficacy of community economic development efforts are difficult to reach precisely because of the unique socio-economic context of regions and the particular contributions of individuals and/or organizations within that context.

1. FACING THE NEEDS - THE WORK OF THE WEST PRINCE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

Over the past several decades, the West Prince Region of Prince Edward Island has failed to keep pace with the rest of the province. Heavily dependent on farming and fishing, it has witnessed an exodus of people and has fallen behind in terms of income and employment levels. In the face of profound economic and social changes, increasingly fragmented and dispirited, the region has watched as control over its future has drifted from its hands.

The West Prince Industrial Commission was established in October, 1977 under the Prince Edward Island Area Industrial Commission Act. This act granted individual municipalities, or two or more municipalities, the authority to establish industrial commissions in order to promote and expand new and existing industrial development within their regions. By the late 1970s,

seven such commissions had been established across Prince Edward Island. The Provincial Government envisaged the commissions as local voluntary agencies which would actively promote their communities and which would serve as "sounding boards" for the Department of Industry on matters relating to local economic development initiatives and issues. The commissions were viewed by the Provincial Government as a means of generating interest in local economic development. They were provided with a small grant to cover operating expenses, correspondence, meetings, and similar costs. It was not envisaged that they would have full-time staffs or elaborate organizational structures.

The provincial government's primary objective in encouraging the establishment of area industrial commissions was the reduction of economic disparity across the Island[1] and the overcoming of rivalries between the Island's regions and communities. While these rivalries have long been a fact of life on Prince Edward Island, they have posed barriers (sometimes serious ones) to regional and community development.

The Region

The West Prince Region, consisting of Lots 1-13, includes the towns of Alberton, O'Leary, and Tignish and is primarily dependent on farming and fishing. (A map of the area is attached as

Appendix 1.) The Region's population represents approximately 14 per cent of the Island's total.

A study conducted for the West Prince Industrial Commission shortly after its inception by Spatial Planning Inc. identified a number of serious economic and social problems.[2] The Region's population increase was below the provincial level, and several municipalities had experienced significant population losses. The percentage of those in the 20-34 age group was below the provincial average. Unemployment rates were higher than the provincial average, and growth in the labour force and participation rates were lower, as were the levels of schooling. Average incomes were roughly 75 per cent of the average for Prince Edward Island as a whole.

A more detailed study published in 1985 by the Department of Industry revealed similar trends.[3] Based on the 1981 census and other data, the profile indicated that the unemployment rates for males and females in the West Prince area were 15.6 and 21.9 per cent, respectively, compared to provincial rates of 10.3 and 13.9 per cent. The study also found that the West Prince Region had a significantly higher percentage share of its labour force involved in the primary industries of farming, fishing, and forestry than did the province as a whole. Approximately 21 per cent of all families in the West Prince area in 1980 were

considered to be low income, compared to 14.5 per cent for Prince Edward Island as a whole.[4]

While the problems with which it was faced were formidable, the Commission achieved relatively little during its first five years of existence. Recognizing that its mandate exceeded its capacity,[5] it did little but sponsor summer student feasibility research projects. These disappointing results appear to have been typical of activities by other industrial commissions throughout the Province at that time. Though the provincial government was aware of the uneven pace of economic activity across the Island and was concerned that it be seen as addressing the issue, it nonetheless provided the commissions with little support beyond funding for the establishment and operation of industrial parks. On the whole, commission board members were essentially representatives of their respective communities or industries; the public seldom participated or even interested itself in the commissions' activities. With no technical expertise, the commissions had good intentions but tended to look to other levels of government for support rather than seeking to develop new enterprises within communities.

The seven industrial commissions across the province, while different in size, orientation, and role, nonetheless shared a number of common objectives:

(i) to identify, analyze and pursue industry/business opportunities which were feasible for their respective area;

(ii) to identify and encourage private sector investment in economic development initiatives;

(iii) to increase public awareness of how municipalities could assist in promoting and coordinating economic development;

(iv) to increase volunteer awareness of existing and new potential initiatives on Prince Edward Island and how they could encourage and assist in economic development in their respective areas;

(v) to increase self-reliance among these volunteer groups over the term of the Program;

(vi) to strengthen the local autonomy of the people of Prince Edward Island in helping them to achieve their economic goals through the development of industry and job creation; and

(vii) to promote, coordinate, and implement economic development activities.[6]

With the advent of the Federal Industrial and Regional Development Program (IRDP) under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1981, funding was made available to area industrial commissions to hire staff and cover operating expenses. At this point, the West Prince Industrial commission decided to

attract a highly-qualified and experienced Executive Manager to assist and direct the implementation of its development strategy, which had previously amounted to little more than a "wish list" based on standard industrial classifications.[7]

Though the Commission was helped by having funding made available to hire a qualified manager, the changes in Federal funding arrangements under the IRDP were to pose other problems both to West Prince and to the Island's other industrial commissions. When the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion decided in 1983 to deliver its programs directly, funding to the industrial commissions was terminated. For close to eighteen months, the commissions existed on a day-to-day basis, with ad hoc arrangements worked out by the federal and provincial governments. These arrangements did little to enhance even short-term planning by the commissions. But with the advent of the federal-provincial Sub-Agreement on Area Industrial Commissions in 1985, funding was secured for a five-year period, although the level would decline ten per cent per year over five years, by which time it was anticipated the commissions would have established secure sources of funding to become self-sustaining. (This expectation has already become a major issue for most commissions, including West Prince. None can reasonably hope to become self-sustaining by the end of the Sub-Agreement. With its funding due to expire on

March 31, 1990, the West Prince Commission is rather pessimistic about its prospects beyond that date.)

One of the effects of the Sub-Agreement was to allow the commissions considerable latitude in the types of activities they conducted. A report on funding options for the commissions noted: "One of the effects of this change is that Commissions do not have any consistent focus. Some are very oriented toward traditional economic development types of activity, while others are more oriented toward community animation and community development".[8] That study commented on the contrasts between, for example, the Charlottetown Commission, with an urban base, where the Province owned the industrial park and sought to attract new industries itself, and the West Prince Industrial Commission. The latter was described as a "regional commission serving a rural base which includes a community futures organization, and the regional service centre, where there are no industrial parks or incubator malls and a very limited base of entrepreneurs".[9]

Within that context, with the flexibility provided under the Sub-Agreement and with the background gained by its members in confronting the problems which faced its region, the West Prince Industrial Commission finally began to come of age. By 1985, as will be noted later, it had already successfully mounted a number of projects within the region and had developed a multi-year strategic plan, as required by the Sub-Agreement's funding

criteria. While continued funding remained a problem, the Commission began to take a more proactive approach to the problems within its region.

However, it was not until the West Prince Industrial Commission engaged the services of a full-time and energetic manager that it was able to initiate projects which began to meet the needs of the region it served. Richard Ozon came to the West Prince Industrial Commission from the private sector, where he had been involved in business management. He was regarded as someone who knew the region and its people, was qualified and enthusiastic, and was the kind of person who could "get things done".[10] Nonetheless, as Ozon himself admitted, his was essentially a one-man effort; the Commission's Board of Directors (to which Ozon at least in principle reported) was not fully involved in the Commission's operations,[11] as it was to become later.

At the same time, the uncertainty of sustained financial support preoccupied the Commission, and distracted it from longer-term goals. (As will be seen later, this has remained a problem for the Commission.) This difficulty was also related in part to the problem of credibility for the Commission; it had to demonstrate successes in order to attract further support. The Commission explicitly recognized its challenge in the formulation of criteria for projects it would sponsor and/or encourage. In July, 1982, it

established that in order to be eligible for support a project must:

(i) be an asset to the area;

(ii) provide long-term benefits;

(iii) produce disposable income/employment;

(iv) make use of all available government financing;

(v) require a limited amount of equity financing from the Commission;

(vi) produce cash flow for the Commission;

(vii) build an asset base for the Commission; and

(viii) be up and operating within two years.[12]

Clearly, within the context of the overall goal -- to foster a climate for economic growth -- the Commission's self-imposed mandate was formidable. Indeed, it was generally agreed "that things were so desperate that it didn't really matter where the development was started as long as it was started. For example, in the area of housing, there was funding available to start to build apartments. So Ozon (the manager) recommended to the Board that they pursue housing as a project. It was a needed component in the infrastructure and it was as good a place to start as any".[13]

Without long-term goals, a more formal planning process, active participation by its constituency, quantifiable targets, and an

implementation mechanism which provided for ongoing monitoring and evaluation, the wonder is not that the West Prince Industrial Commission succeeded as well as it did, but that it succeeded at all. Now, faced with the prospect of losing its federal funding and its second change in management in little more than a year,[14] its very future is at stake. The question of the Commission's future takes on added urgency given the federal government's recently announced plans to close the nearby Summerside Canadian Forces Base, a move expected to lead to major job losses in the vicinity.

2. DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES

Since its establishment in 1977 -- and more especially since 1982, when it engaged full-time staff -- the West Prince Industrial Commission has been actively involved in a broad range of projects. These projects have been carried out by the Commission both on its own and in cooperation with area municipalities, industry organizations, and the private sector, and with Canada Employment and Immigration-sponsored venture capital organizations and other CEIC-related programs and projects. The Commission has attempted to maximize federal and provincial sources of funding from agencies such as Canada Mortgage and Housing and Agriculture Canada, and has also sought funds for capital projects through conventional lending agencies. Its major activities, briefly summarized below, suggest the range

and scope of its involvement, from housing and tourism to retail development and biotechnology.

1. A Main Street Program was carried out in O'Leary and Alberton, enabling 25 businesses to improve their properties.

2. The Commission purchased a vacant shopping mall in Bloomfield. Renamed the Westland Centre, the mall attracted tenants offering goods and services not generally available in the region (a major automotive supply store, drycleaner, restaurant, legal and accounting). In March of 1988, the Commission returned Westland Centre to the private sector.

3. ATO Properties (for Alberton, Tignish, and O'Leary) constructed, owns and operates 24 apartment units. ATO Properties, like the Westland Centre prior to its privatization, is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Commission. The Commission also owns Tri-West Holdings, which operates two residential rental units.

4. The Commission also owns and operates a tourism facility known as the Mill River Fun Park. Located adjacent to a provincial golf course and motel complex, it was designed to attract tourism to the region and to provide regional

recreational facilities. Recently a new water slide was added, and the Commission has made increased attendance a priority.

5. Westway Industries, which manufactures specialty leather products, is wholly owned by the Commission and has recently commenced operations. It is, however, still experiencing start-up problems at the time of writing (early 1989).

6. The Wind and Reef Restaurant and Interpretative Centre, located at North Cape, was established to complement the region's need for dining facilities. The Commission has as of early 1989 leased the restaurant to a Toronto restaurateur for the 1989 season with an eye to raising some revenue from the facility.

7. Perhaps one of the most innovative and promising of the Commission's initiatives is Westech Agriculture Ltd., a biotechnology company using advanced tissue culture techniques to develop disease-free commercial strawberry plants, with major export potential. This technology has since been expanded to other crop varieties.

The Commission has also worked closely with a number of organizations throughout West Prince to promote tourism and small business, and has actively lobbied in support of new and expanded

business opportunities, improved transportation, and improved education and training courses and facilities. The Commission's efforts have been widely acknowledged as stimulating economic activity in the region and creating a new sense of confidence and pride.[15]

With a 1987-88 operating budget of just over $66,000, the West Prince Industrial Commission directly employed through its various enterprises close to 200 people (seasonal and full-time). By the middle of 1988, the market value of its assets reached upwards of $1.8 million, and it claimed new investment in the region of between $1.5-2.0 million.[16] Clearly, it had become a formidable force in the region.

A quantitative evaluation of its impacts, however, is difficult. Leaving aside the question of which impacts can be strictly attributed to the Commission, the paucity of data on a sub-provincial level makes even guesstimates tenuous at best. Comparative income and employment data, for example, between 1981 and 1986 are as yet unavailable from Statistics Canada, and there are no reliable proxies. Anecdotal evidence, while interesting and sometimes illuminating, is often subjective. Nevertheless, some qualitative conclusions can be drawn about the Commission's impacts on the region.

Infrastructure

Aware of the lagging economy and stagnant social conditions in the West Prince Region, the Industrial Commission first turned its attention to the region's infrastructure requirements:

> We have a serious need for the things people in other areas take for granted: adequate housing, restaurants, entertainment, a swimming pool, retail stores and services.
>
> We must develop these things if we are to keep our young people in the area. We are suffering from a rapidly aging population and the lack of an entrepreneurial base. As an area we have 15,000 people which is large enough to develop additional business in the area. We must do what we can to slow the parade down the Western road, because it is taking 50 per cent of our purchasing dollar with it.[17]

This view was perhaps more succinctly expressed by Richard Ozon: "Five years ago you couldn't get your pants drycleaned within 40 miles".[18] The projects initially undertaken by the Commission were a response to these articulated frustrations. Infrastructure, not industrial development per se, became the Commission's first task.

The Commission's emphasis on infrastructure was raised as an issue when the continued financing of industrial commissions across Prince Edward Island was examined by the DPA Group in 1987. The DPA study questioned the appropriateness of the Commission's involving itself in such projects as the development of retail space. It concluded "Spending time developing businesses to take

in each other's washing does not develop any new activity in this province." Similarly, "A commission that focusses all its resources on retail activities or other non-basic services (e.g., laundromats) has not created any new economic activity in its region. On the other hand, if jobs have been created in new manufacturing or primary industry activity, or other types of out-of-region exports, the contribution of the export economic activity will be much more significant".[19]

The Commission's efforts in this regard might be regarded as a necessary prerequisite to the stimulation of further economic and business development activities. Moreover, it appears the Commission recognized that its mandate went beyond the provision of infrastructure, and the DPA study conceded it "has maintained a concentrated focus on activities and projects to activate the economic base", citing its involvement in tourism and biotechnology projects.[20] Thus, it is perhaps to the Commission's credit that it recognized the importance of infrastructure development as a first and crucial step in local development, and that it was not distracted from its desire to put the needed infrastructure in place.

The Commission's explanation for its emphasis on infrastructure is as follows: "In rural areas there is not a strong private sector as many of the entrepreneurs have left the area for areas of greater entrepreneurial opportunities. We are spending

millions on training for jobs that do not exist. More emphasis must be placed on creating the jobs and then the emphasis can be placed on training people to fill them.

"We feel that more emphasis must be placed on the creation of infrastructure which will make it easier for entrepreneurs to take advantage of existing opportunities".[21]

In terms of impacts, the Commission has been widely credited with initiating economic activity -- any economic activity -- in the region.[22] Nonetheless, its purchase and development of a shopping mall were deeply controversial. Many of the area municipalities and private businesses were bitterly opposed, and many area residents criticized the Commission for the lack of public participation in carrying out the purchase. Ironically, there was an eventual grudging acceptance of the mall's success in broadening the area's retail services; indeed, there were even some reservations when the Commission decided to return the mall to the private sector.[23]

At the same time, the lack of residential accommodation was seen as a problem in attracting people to, or keeping people in, the West Prince Region. By successfully leveraging CMHC funds, the Commission was able to create construction employment, meet a void

in housing, and at the same time provide itself with much-needed revenue.

The Commission's rationale was straightforward. The province's Housing Corporation stated the case to CMHC: "As we have discussed in the past, the lack of rental accommodation in the Province's rural centres is of concern to us. The makeup of the housing market in these areas is such that it is extremely difficult for private sector interests to construct viable rental projects. At the same time, however, a very real need exists in these areas for rental accommodation".[24]

New Development Opportunities

From its inception, the Commission was strongly aware of the need to expand the Region's economy. Its efforts in the pursuit of new and expanded economic opportunities are perhaps best illustrated by its involvement in tourism and biotechnology projects, which drew heavily on the local resource base and on the capacities of area residents.

The West Prince Region has not fully shared in the tourism development which had occurred across most of the rest of the Island. Lack of accommodation and recreation facilities, poor transportation, and inadequate promotion of its attractiveness as a tourism destination are among the reasons for the slow pace of

tourism development in West Prince. A 1985 Tourist Exit Survey conducted by the provincial Tourism Department indicated that under 3 per cent of all visitors to PEI made the West Prince Region their destination, and fewer than 9 per cent even travelled through the region.[25] Through its tourism development projects, the Commission has sought to increase that market share.

By means of aggressive lobbying, the Commission was able to support the development of a major resort in the area, funded jointly by the private and public sectors. The Commission also helped to establish a tourist information centre and has been active in promoting festivals and other special events in the region in order to make it more attractive to tourists. But its major effort in this area has been the establishment of a theme park (Mill River), whose family-type recreational facilities are designed to provide additional recreational opportunities for area residents and tourists alike.

These tourist projects have been designed to create jobs as well as attracting more tourists to the area. For example, the Mill River theme park employs up to 30 people on a seasonal basis, while the North Cape restaurant and interpretive centre provide up to 15 seasonal jobs. While it is too early to assess the impacts of these initiatives in detail, it is safe to say that a base for

further development has been established and the number of seasonal jobs in the tourist industry has increased.

Perhaps the greatest potential for new development rests with the Commission's biotechnology initiative, Westech Agriculture. The Region had been the centre of a facility which produced elite seed for the Island's potato industry. The technology for advanced tissue culture was considered transferable to such crops as strawberries and blueberries. The Commission obtained significant federal support for this venture, attracted highly-qualified scientific and technical expertise to the area (several research scientists and technicians have become permanent residents), and established export markets for seed both in North America and overseas. Westech secured a three-year contract from Agriculture Canada to undertake a project in Haploid research using gene-splicing techniques to develop new varieties of wheat and barley suitable for Island conditions. Seven permanent and about 50 seasonal jobs have been created, with excellent linkages to the natural resources of the region and with considerable potential for future growth. Westech has already moved into larger facilities; it is the type of enterprise perhaps scarcely envisaged before the inception of the Industrial Commission.[26]

Impacts

In general, the efforts of the West Prince Industrial Commission have resulted in a number of direct and indirect impacts on the region. In a tangible way, the Commission has established new enterprises, facilitated new technology, supported the development of new business and the expansion of existing firms, and directly and indirectly created new employment and investment opportunities. In qualitative terms, the Commission appears to have achieved a good measure of success in stimulating economic activity and in fostering a renewed entrepreneurial spirit and a new sense of confidence in the region. There now appears to be a greater willingness to invest in the region.

In quantitative terms, the impacts are harder to measure. While inadequate for purposes of a more thorough evaluation, data from the provincial Department of Finance indicate that total incomes in Lots 1-10, which encompass much of the West Prince Region, remain persistently lower than for the province as a whole -- about 75 per cent of the provincial average over the past ten years.[27]

Other data paint a slightly different picture. Table 1, showing the amount of personal income reported by PEI taxpayers on their federal income tax returns, shows a 43.6 per cent increase in reported income between 1976 and 1985 for the lots comprising the

West Prince Region. This compares with an increase of 16.5 per cent for Prince County as a whole, 26.2 per cent for Queen's County, and 31.2 per cent for Kings County. But these differences are generally small enough that, even to the extent that the Commission can be credited with the increase in income for West Prince, its impact was apparently quite modest.

Of greater concern are the employment figures shown in Table 2. These figures show a higher (by about 50 per cent) unemployment rate and lower participation rates for both males and females for West Prince than for the province as a whole, in addition to lower participation rates for workers of both genders. Nor did 1986 represent any improvement on 1981; indeed, one important indicator, female unemployment rate, rose between 1981 and 1986 not just in absolute terms but in proportion to the provincial unemployment rate. Taken in conjunction with the income figures just described, the employment indicators suggest that, at least up until 1985, the Commission has not had a significant effect on the Region's employment and income problems. To be sure, it should be noted that there is a significant "hidden economy" in the Region which is difficult, if not impossible to measure using conventional indicators, but which would probably need to be taken into account if one wished to obtain a full picture of the Commission's impacts.

Table 1

Personal Income Tax Statistics: Total Income ($ 000) (Constant $ 1976)

Year	Townships 1-10	Prince	Queen's	Kings
1976	26,994	142,249	224,364	49,058
1977	31,252	148,364	235,440	51,984
1978	34,223	153,243	247,291	56,377
1979	34,497	153,078	252,919	57,448
1980	34,606	148,894	251,354	57,166
1981	34,770	151,154	253,815	58,123
1982	35,695	155,352	261,656	60,143
1983	36,048	156,333	264,511	61,291
1984	37,385	160,996	272,955	61,337
1985	38,764	165,774	283,137	64,374
Percent change				
76-85	43.6	16.5	26.2	31.2

Source Revenue Canada: Locality Code Statistics.

Available data also indicate that for the same area, during a period when the population of the province as a whole steadily rose, the region suffered a marginal loss in population over the past decade (see Table 4). While this continuing pattern of rural-to-urban migration is certainly not unique to the West Prince Region, it certainly is not a sign of the Commission's positive long-term impact on out-migration.

To be sure, the Commission has had a number of other, less tangible impacts. For instance, while there is no evidence that the Commission developed explicit strategies with respect to the role of women in the region, there are a number of significant examples of women taking advantage of new opportunities created by the Commission. Some of this may be due to the service orientation of several of the Commission's initiatives (restaurant, retail and theme park), but it is noteworthy that management of several of the Commission's subsidiaries, including the theme park and Westech Agriculture, and more recently, of the Commission itself, has been assumed by women. (The Community Futures organization in West Prince is also directed by a woman.) It should also be pointed out that in this Region women traditionally have achieved higher levels of formal education than their male counterparts, who have tended to leave school earlier for employment in the primary resource sector. Indeed, overall, females in West Prince have

Table 2

Labour Force Activity, PEI and the West Prince Region - 1981 and 1986 Censuses

Labour force activity	Males West Prince	Males P.E.I.	Females West Prince	Females P.E.I.
		(1981)		
Population 15 years and over	5,636	44,475	5,375	46,080
In labour force	3,880	33,430	2,310	22,775
Employed	3,250	30,000	1,785	19,600
Unemployed	605	3,435	505	3,175
Participation rate (%)	68.9	74.7	43.0	49.4
Unemployment rate (%)	15.6	10.3	21.9	13.9
		(1986)		
Population 15 years and over	5,795	47,115	5,500	48,630
In labour force	4,185	35,850	2,825	27,420
Employed	3,310	30,580	2,100	22,810
Unemployed	925	5,265	720	4,610
Participation rate (%)	72.2	76.1	51.4	56.4
Unemployment rate (%)	22.1	14.7	25.5	16.8

Note Numbers may not add due to rounding.

Source Statistics Canada, Selected (Labour Force) Characteristics for Census Divisions and Census Subdivisions, 1981 and 1986 Censuses (Cat. 94-104, pt. 2).

Table 3

Personal Income Tax Statistics: Total Income ($ 000), Females (constant $ 1976)

Year	Townships 1-10	Prince	Queen's	Kings
1976	7,619	35,446	66,517	13,132
1977	8,134	37,731	70,669	14,219
1978	9,349	41,381	76,613	16,028
1979	9,594	42,529	79,414	16,571
1980	9,528	42,463	81,695	16,864
1981	9,847	44,254	84,846	17,653
1982	10,198	45,865	89,183	18,535
1983	10,665	46,963	91,473	18,422
1984	11,953	51,799	99,931	20,475
1985	12,389	52,853	100,977	21,050
		(% increase - constant $ 1976-85)		
1976	-	-	-	-
1977	6.8	6.4	6.2	8.3
1978	14.9	9.7	8.4	12.7
1979	2.6	2.8	3.7	3.4
1980	-0.7	-0.2	2.9	1.8
1981	3.3	4.2	3.9	4.7
1982	3.6	3.6	5.1	5.0
1983	4.6	2.4	2.6	-0.6
1984	12.1	10.3	9.2	11.1
1985	3.7	2.0	1.0	2.8

Source Revenue Canada, Locality Code Statistics.

generally outpaced women in the rest of the province in terms of their percentage increase in incomes over the past decade (Table 3). For instance, in 1983, 1984 and 1985 (the last three years for which data are available), that percentage increase has been greater in townships 1-10 than in Kings or Queen's counties or in the rest of Prince County.

One of the Commission's major impacts, especially over the past five years, has been its success in encouraging leadership in local organizations. Certainly its active support to such local groups as tourist associations has been positive and productive. In particular, the Commission has been notably successful in helping the region as a whole gain access to such services as improved training opportunities. Although the Commission had long pressed for more access for residents for vocational training and post-secondary educational opportunities, its efforts have recently been focussed on securing courses in academic upgrading. A committee has been established to seek a commitment from the University of Prince Edward Island to offer courses in the region. As the Commission's multi-year strategic plan notes: "In the new 'age of learning and access to knowledge', it is imperative the standard of education be raised in West Prince. At the present time 39 per cent of the population has less than grade 9".[28] (For Prince Edward Island as a whole, just under 20 per cent has less than grade 9 education.)[29]

Note: Prince, Queen's, and Kings are the only three counties in Prince Edward Island.

As a result of the Commission's effort to expand educational opportunities, enrollment in post-secondary technical and continuing education courses provided by Holland College has increased. The number of students enrolled in post-secondary courses in 1979-80 increased from 40 to 77 in 1987-88, and the course offerings were expanded from Office Studies to include Business Administration as well.[30] Manpower courses in such areas as farm machinery, job entry, adult academic night classes and others were designed with the needs of the region in mind. The Industrial Commission worked closely with Holland College to ensure that its offerings complemented the region's needs.

Throughout, the Commission actively lobbied both levels of government on behalf of its own interests, those of other area groups, and the region in general for the extension of government services, facilities, and support for its initiatives. For example, in a brief to members of the Provincial Government, it stated: "The Commission hopes the Development Agency will become more sensitive to rural needs ... Would like to see a closer relationship between commissions and the Department of Industry on a program and policy basis ... We feel there should be more West Prince representation on Provincial Boards ... We are concerned with the lack of fish and potato processing in West Prince ... ".[31] These sentiments reflected a long-standing complaint that the region's needs and interests were being ignored or overlooked by policy-makers in the provincial capital.

Table 4

Percent Change of Census Population, West Prince Area, 1981-86

Lot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Alberton	O'Leary
Population, 1981	1840	1686	738	1210	1023	898	691	714	484	346	1011	741
Population, 1986	1860	1749	765	1228	1071	900	694	701	463	323	1103	823
Percent Change	1.1	3.7	3.7	1.5	4.7	0.2	0.3	-1.8	-4.3	-6.6	9.1	11.1

Source Statistics Canada, 1986 Census.

Sustainability

Questions of sustainability for the Island's Industrial Commissions have yet to be resolved. Present funding arrangements continue until 1990, with levels of funding to be gradually reduced from the 1985 level, as noted earlier. It appears unlikely that any of the commissions could survive without external funding; at the same time, if they wished to become self-sustaining, their energy and focus would have to shift, to the detriment of their stated mandate of promoting development within their regions. In any case, it is probably unwise, by and large, for industrial commissions to provide goods and services normally provided by the private sector.

The likelihood of municipal funding is also unclear. To date, municipalities served by the commissions appear unwilling or unable to provide the necessary financial support to operate the commissions. Without a change in government policy, to allow continued funding to industrial commissions, the commissions will lose crucial staff resources and expertise; previous experience has demonstrated they are less than effective as purely voluntary organizations. It remains to be seen whether (assuming some kind of continuing funding were deemed appropriate) such funding would best be applied to keeping the industrial commissions in operation

in their present form or rather to establishing true locally based community development organizations.

It should also be pointed out that the Commission established projects which might be taken over by the private sector. In this respect, the continuation of such enterprises -- with or without the Commission -- remains a legacy of its operations. Again, whether an industrial commission is the most efficient mechanism for fostering such enterprises remains to be seen. Unfortunately, an answer to this question lies well beyond the scope of this paper.

3. CONCLUSION

An examination of the planning, implementation, and developmental aspects of the West Prince Industrial Commission can provide some useful lessons which lead to questions about the efficiency and effectiveness, not only of this Commission, but perhaps of similar agencies across the country.

First, the rationale for the establishment of such agencies appears to stem from a fundamental assumption that the community development process involves members of the community. Often, however, the mechanisms under which community development agencies are established are based on an externally-imposed set of expectations and goals; such "bureaucratic constructs" may very

well discourage locally-based approaches and pre-determine the nature of development strategies formulated by those communities. Here again, it may be useful to ask whether these "bureaucratic constructs," in the case of West Prince, resulted from the fact that the agency in question was an industrial commission established by the province rather than a true community development corporation.

It is fair to conclude that the West Prince Commission's early years were not all that productive. There was no perceived sense of mission, and the volunteer board appeared to lack the cohesiveness, energy, and focus on objectives so essential in the advancement of development initiatives based on their own needs and aspirations. Essentially, they were handed a challenge from the outside -- to develop their industrial base -- but lacked the support and resources needed to realize that objective, let alone to decide whether the objective itself was appropriate or attainable.

Later on, the West Prince Industrial Commission was fortunate to have a manager who was sensitive to the area, and who had the skills and energy to successfully mount projects which met community needs. Reliance on such a manager, however, is a double-edged sword. As the initiative's recent history demonstrates, such reliance may make succession problems almost inevitable unless extreme care is exercised by staff and board.

Reliance on a strong, "charismatic" manager also raises broader questions of the appropriate role to be played by the Board. A properly-executed implementation mechanism must strike an appropriate balance between the functions of control and monitoring of activities and the overall intention of the board in mounting them. In the case of the West Prince Industrial Commission, for example, there is little evidence of any kind of cost-benefit analysis or periodic evaluations. (To be fair, the absence of adequate sub-provincial data makes such assessment exercises more difficult than they would otherwise be). Indeed, although the Board has been taking a much more active role in the Commission since Ozon's departure, there is little or no evidence that it has moved toward a longer-term perspective. It appears that the bulk of the Board's (as well as the staff's) time is taken up with day-to-day management of existing projects, leaving little time to pursue new initiatives or to develop a long-term perspective.

It can also be observed that community development strategies are all too often based around activities for which there is available funding. Simply because projects can be financed does not necessarily imply they should be undertaken. If, for example, funding exists for industrial parks and incubator malls, it does not follow that these projects are necessarily the best ways of achieving new industrial development. Appropriate development

strategies must clearly be based on the strengths and characteristics of the community.

The record of the West Prince Industrial Commission indicates that industrial commissions in some cases can be an effective mechanism in stimulating economic development and entrepreneurship, providing they are in tune with the strengths and needs of their region's communities. A number of lessons, however, emerge. First of all, such agencies appear to require secure and sustained sources of funding for their operations. Otherwise, their activities tend to be diverted to simple survival rather than economic development, their original mandate. Lack of secure funding can also lead to organizations' undertaking activities which place them in direct conflict with interests in the community they were intended to serve. As well, for industrial commissions to be effective, active support and participation from the community itself is a major prerequisite. The lesson from the West Prince Industrial Commission in this regard is instructive; it gradually overcame the intra-regional rivalries which existed when it was established. Policy-makers must exercise care in establishing the "boundaries" of the community itself, whether geographical or otherwise.

In terms of impacts, the record suggests that the West Prince Industrial Commission was moderately successful in stimulating new and expanded economic, investment, and employment opportunities.

The major lesson which can be drawn in this respect is that the Commission was acutely aware of the need to demonstrate the success of its various initiatives. This gave the Commission credibility, but perhaps more importantly, gave a sense of hope and confidence to people in the region. Economic development agencies must be perceived as successful instruments of change if they are to achieve continuing success.

With regard to replicability, the experience of the West Prince Industrial Commission suggests both the importance of infrastructure as a prerequisite to economic development and the need to move beyond infrastructure, at least in the longer term. An emphasis on infrastructure is crucial if a region is to attract -- and hold -- businesses and residents. The West Prince Industrial Commission, by initially expanding the retail base, providing more and adequate housing, encouraging training and establishing the base for tourism and biotechnology development, did help pave the way for the next stage of the development process. Some of its ventures, in particular Westech, do offer long-term promise. But at this writing, it remains very much an open question whether the Commission will be able to take the crucial next step beyond the provision of infrastructure and help the Region as a whole reverse the "vicious cycle" of out-migration and underdevelopment described early in the paper (See Sec. 1).

The sustainability of such a process rests on two separate, but related issues. One has to do with continued support for the work of such commissions. Without adequate, long-term funding, it is extremely unlikely that community development efforts can be self-sustaining, especially if they are to fulfill the mandate expected of them. There must also be an explicit commitment from other levels of government to support, morally and politically, the integrity of such organizations.

There is as well an organizational issue in terms of succession -- both of board and staff members. If key staff or board members leave, it appears crucial that the succession issue be recognized and provision made to continue the strategic directions. Indeed, the funding and succession issues are in fact quite closely interrelated. For only when community development organizations are provided with some measure and degree of stability can the problems of succession such as those encountered by the West Prince Industrial Commission be addressed. While it is premature, for example, to speculate about the continued success of the West Prince Commission with the change of key management, the departure of a key individual creates a major issue in terms of succession. Members of the West Prince Commission might properly be criticized for their over-reliance on their manager. It is crucial that commission and members be centrally involved in the development of policy, strategic goals, and implementation. There appeared to be no mechanism in place to assure an orderly succession. This fact

has created problems for the Commission and cast doubt upon the efficacy of its continued activities.[32]

In short, there remains a lingering suspicion that the success of the Commission resulted more from a unique confluence of events, circumstances, and personalities than from any sort of systematic pursuit of community development objectives. In particular, more systematic study of the role of industrial commissions in community and regional development will be necessary in order to discover whether the types of problems encountered by the West Prince commission are endemic to industrial commissions as such, or whether these problems (like the Commission's earlier success stories) are the result of a particular set of circumstances not likely to be replicated elsewhere.

NOTES

1. P.E.I. Department of Finance and Tourism, "Historical Trends in Regional Development, Prince Edward Island", p.1.

2. Spatial Planning Inc., West Prince Industrial Commission - Discussion Paper, 1978.

3. P.E.I. Department of Industry, The West Prince Area Community Profile, 1978.

4. The statistics were succinctly expressed by the West Prince Industrial Commission in its proposal for funding to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion in 1982: "Western Prince, Prince Edward Island, is slowly slipping into obscurity. Why? Because we have nothing to offer". West Prince Industrial Commission, "Proposal for Funding, Community Industrial Assistance Program, Department of Regional Economic Expansion", April, 1982, p.1.

5. Ibid., p.3.

6. Source for these objectives: The Area Industrial Commission Act, Cap. A-18, RSPEI, 1974.

7. Ibid., pp.8-11.

8. Interviews with members, West Prince Industrial Commission, April, 1988.

9. The DPA Group Inc., Funding Options for P.E.I. Area Industrial Commissions, 1987, p.13.

10. Interview with members, West Prince Industrial Commission.

11. West Prince Industrial Commission, Multi-Year Strategic Plan, 1986, p.2. This is in contrast to the situation a decade earlier when, in order to resolve intra-regional rivalries, infrastructure such as schools were established outside of, and between, municipalities.

12. Interview with Richard Ozon, April, 1988.

13. West Prince Industrial Commission, "Minutes of Meeting", July, 1982.

14. See Note 32 for a more detailed discussion of these changes.

15. Kevin Moynihan, "The West Prince Industrial Commission - A Case Study", 1st Draft, p. 14.

16. Interviews with area residents, April, 1988.

17. West Prince Industrial Commission, Multi-Year Strategic Plan, March, 1988.

18. Interview with Richard Ozon, April, 1988.

19. The DPA Group Inc., Funding Options for P.E.I. Industrial Commissions, April, 1987, p.16.

20. Ibid., p.24.

21. West Prince Industrial Commission, Untitled brief, undated.

22. Interviews with area residents, April, 1988.

23. Interviews with area residents, April, 1988.

24. Letter from Ginger Breedon, P.E.I. Housing Corporation, to Howard Oakey, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, June 15, 1983.

25. P.E.I. Department of Tourism, Tourist Exit Survey, 1985.

26. P.E.I. Department of Finance: Economics, Statistics and Fiscal Analysis Division, 1986.

27. It must be conceded that even Westech is not without its growing pains. At this writing (early 1989), Westech is having some problems securing sufficient production to meet its new and existing markets. Westech could also benefit from cold storage/packing facilities; however, these facilities would likely only be required for six to eight weeks per year, making the facilities an extremely costly proposition relative to the amount of use they would get.

28. West Prince Industrial Commission, Multi-Year Strategic Plan, 1987, p.7.

29. Source: Statistics Canada, 1986.

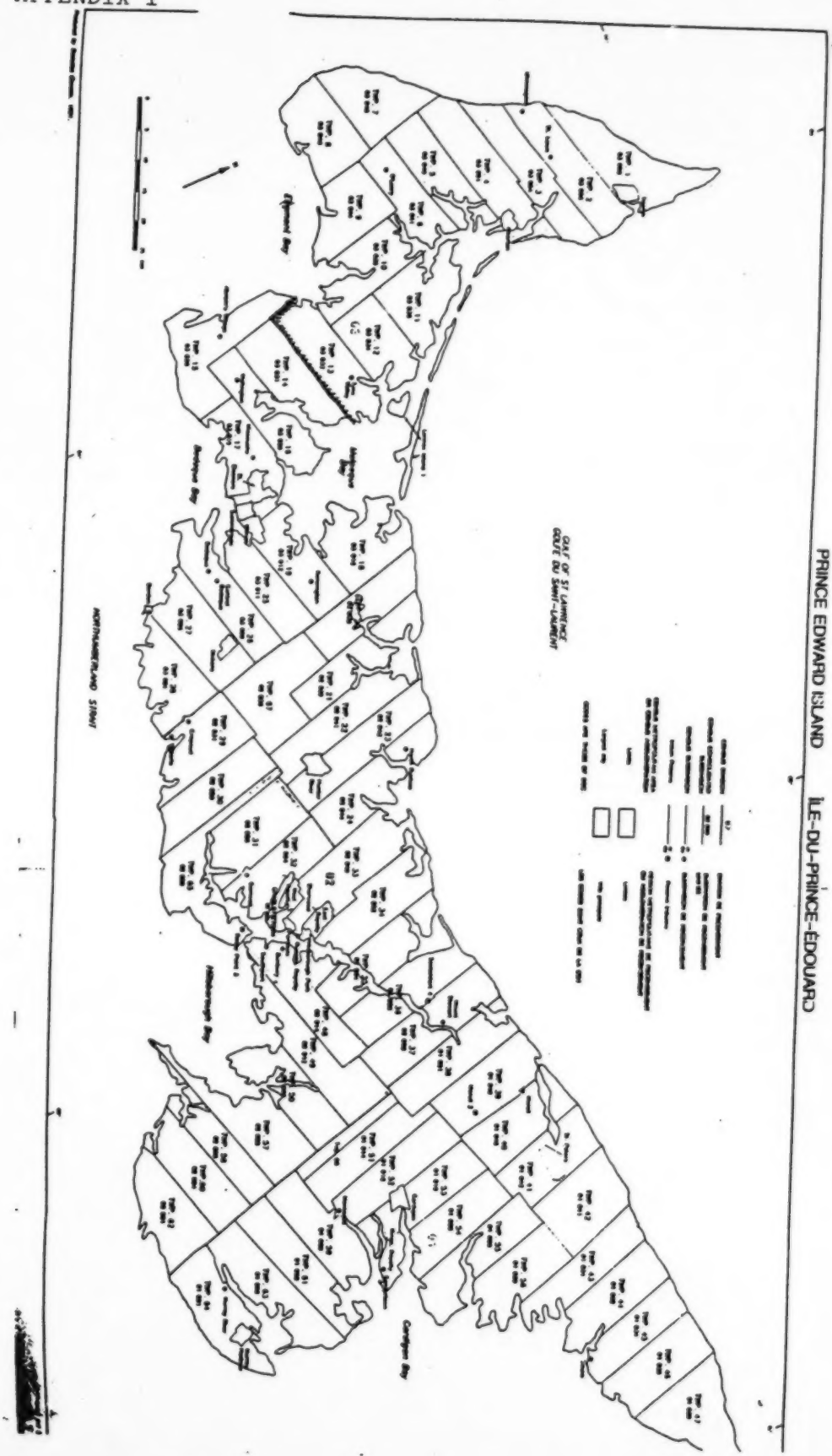
30. Holland College, "Program Enrollment Summary, West Prince Centre, 1977-1988".

31. West Prince Industrial Commission, Untitled Brief, undated.

32. To be sure, the Commission did obtain the services of a replacement for Ozon, Marilyn Montgomery, in April of 1988; however, within ten months she had left to take a comparable position with the East Prince Industrial Commission, which was closer to her home. During her tenure, the focus was on firming up existing projects rather than developing new ones or establishing a long-term plan for the Commission. The Commission did obtain a one-year Job Development Grant from CEIC, which enabled it to hire five people; these people have been assigned to assist various local agencies, such as the Chamber of commerce and Westech, with tourist and business development projects. But it is not clear at the time of writing (March, 1989) whether these people will be "picked up" by the local agencies when the grant runs out.

In February, 1989, Marilyn Montgomery was replaced by Eddie Trail, who had grown up in the area and who had acquired a bachelor's degree in business administration and some practical business experience in New Brunswick. Again, Trail's emphasis has been on consolidating existing operations. While the Board, particularly under Trail, has brought in some younger members and is taking a more active role in the Commission's operations, there is no evidence that it has made any contingency plans for the Commission's continuing operations after federal funding runs out.

APPENDIX 1


PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
ÎLE-DU-PRINCE-ÉDOUARD
GULF OF ST LAWRENCE
GOLFE DU SAINT-LAURENT
NORTHUMBERLAND STRAIT

APPENDIX 2 - LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Richard Ozon, Executive Director of the West Prince Industrial Commission for the last five and one half years.

Harold Tuck, Manager, Canada Employment Centre, O'Leary.

Paula Foley, Manager of Community Futures, Bloomfield, West Prince.

Greg McKee, Small Business Development Officer, O'Leary, and member of the Commission Board.

Nora Gaudette, Manager of Westech, Bloomfield, West Prince.

Vernon Maxfield, Manager of the Credit Union, O'Leary.

Roy Leard, retired mayor of Alberton, and first chair of the Industrial Commission.

Allan Parker, General Manager of Elite Seed Potato Farm, Fox Island, West Prince and Member of the Board.

Colleen Smallman, Regional Services Center, O'Leary, Member of the UPEI West Prince Advisory Committee.

John Cain, Manager, West Prince Ventures, a LEAD funded company at the Incubator Mall in Bloomfield.

Florence Arsenault, Commission office manager, former properties manager of ATO Properties.

Mary Lou Rogers, Co-ordinator, Holland College, West Prince.

John Lane, Instructor, Business Administration Course, Holland College.

John Currie, Consultant in Planning at the time of the founding of the Commission.

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